UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

The Price of Justice

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

The Pacifist Movement in Austria Since the Outbreak of the Great War

By FRIEDRICH HERTZ

A Tribute to Lammasch, "Pacifist and Statesman"

By DAVID STARR JORDAN

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *: Editors :* FRANCIS NEILSON

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Contents

EDITORIAL—

Notes 51
The Price of Justice.—CLARENCE R. SKINNER. 53

ARTICLES—

The Pacifist Movement in Austria Since the Outbreak of the Great War.—FRIEDRICH HERTZ 54
Is Justice Our Great Word?—*Charles F. Dole* 57
A Tribute to Lammasch, "Pacifist and Statesman."—DAVID STARR JORDAN 60
Gandhi's Diplomatic Victory.—TARAKNATH DAS 60
Earl Grey's Half-Truth.—JAMES WALDO FAWCETT 61

CORRESPONDENCE—

Anent Mr. Robinson's Political Economy.—FRANK W. GARRISON 62

POETRY—

Credo. Text from a Chinese Song..... 51
Completeness.—*Richard W. Hogue*..... 62

THE FIELD—

Diary of a Quaker Worker among the Fifteen Million of Russian Starving People..... 63

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXIX. THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 1922 NUMBER 4

CREDO

Text from a Chinese Song Written About 200 B. C.

I believe in the deep blue sky and the smiling water.
I can see through the clouds of the sky, and I am not afraid of the waves of the sea.
I believe in the living friendships given by the flowers and the trees, outwardly they die, but in the heart they live forever.
Little paths through the green woods, I love, and the sound of the leaves on the ground, or of a nut falling, or even of a broken twig.
I beleve that the days to come already feel wonder of the days that are passed, and will permit the wonder to endure and increase.
I believe in, and love my belief in, and my love for, all these things, and most of all,
I believe in, and love the Source of my belief and my love.

"Bombay, March 10 (Associated Press).—Mohandas K. Gandhi, the Indian Non-Co-operationist leader, was arrested at Ahmedabad, 310 miles north of Bombay. He is charged with sedition."

"Then they took him (Jesus), . . . and led him unto Pilate. And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, . . . And they were the more fierce, saying, He stirreth up the people."—*Gospel of Luke.*

A miners' strike in the Transvaal flames up into an open insurrection against the government! Gandhi is arrested, and the situation in India becomes the most threatening in history! Edwin T. Montagu, late Secretary of State for India, assails the Coalition Government and reveals the mendacity of the Prime Minister! Disorders spread in Ireland, and English soldiers are slain! Three hundred thousand machinists in engineering trades are locked out in England, adding nearly a million men to the ranks of the unemployed, and precipitating "the gravest industrial crisis that England has experienced in more than a year"! This is the news which Lloyd-George found on the front page of his newspaper on the first Sunday of his cherished period of vacation in Wales! How soon the Premier returned to London, whether he resigned or by a fresh miracle of adjustment patched up his tottering cabinet and allayed disturbances in various parts of the Empire—all this will be known before this editorial can be printed. It is possible only to say now, on the eve of events which no man can foresee, that the British Empire is resting on a volcano, and that a world-shaking explosion, while it may be postponed, cannot be ultimately prevented. What a wonderful triumph was that victory over Germany! With what astuteness Lloyd-George served the interests of the English people at Versailles! How beneficent was his discovery that England was fighting, among other things, for the self-determination of subject peoples! The day of reckoning for Lloyd-George is at hand; when he falls, it will be with the execrations of all mankind upon his head. And yet, who can step into his place? Where is the leader who can bring order out of the chaos which has at last destroyed the man whom Montagu well calls "a wizard"?

Taraknath Das, in his article on "Gandhi's Diplomatic Victory," published in this issue, refers to the recent increase of appropriations for military expenditures in the Indian budget. It is well to note what this fact means. At the present moment the British Government in India is spending for its army no less than $350,000,000, which is more than sixty-three (63) per cent of the total Indian revenue. Of course the Indian members unanimously opposed this item in the budget, but they were told in reply by both Lord Rawlinson and Mr. Hielly, the finance minister, that if they refused to vote for it, the Government would have to take recourse to arms (as if they were not taking recourse to arms already!), and the rule would be one of absolute despotism. Later reports indicate that the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council are refusing to vote for any taxation unless military expenditures are reduced. At a time when the talk of disarmament is in the air, when England is taking a fine pose in Europe as the advocate of scrapping submarines, reducing land forces, etc., when the United States is considering a treaty making alliance with England in Asia, it is significant, to say the least, that the Empire is going right on increasing armaments *where they are needed.* The situation in India is getting more critical every day. The arrest of Gandhi is proof positive of the triumphant success of his non-resistant program of revolt. That the British Government will leave no sword undrawn, no gun unfired, no drop of blood unshed, to hold the Indian people beneath the iron heel of tyranny, is as certain as the passing of night and day. To think of the Washington Conference, with its loud pretensions, in the light of India with its grim realities, is

positively sickening. English imperialism was never more hard-pressed and therefore cruel than it is today; and for its own salvation it is resolved to bind America to its bloody chariot wheels, if it can be done by hook or crook.

Speaking of English imperialism and its intrigues with America, reminds us to say that, as the debate on the Four-Power Alliance proceeds, the abominable nature of the compact is becoming more and more evident. Senator Lodge disclosed his true understanding of the treaty, when he insisted upon tying it up with the naval limitation agreement, as Wilson tied up the League Covenant with the Versailles Treaty, and asserting that the two things went along together. The Massachusetts Senator knows perfectly well that the Four-Power Alliance cannot bear investigation, and that the only possible way to put it through is to hide it behind the disarmament treaty which has the support of everybody. The Alliance itself is exactly what that name implies—an *alliance*. It involves America for the first time in all the injustices and perils of that orgy of imperialistic exploitation in Asia, which is the crowning scandal of Christendom. It marks not the abrogation but the extension of that Anglo-Japanese alliance which Canada and Australia, as well as this country, were demanding should be done away with. It implicitly aligns us against China and Russia, and on the side of Japan, in any struggle of the former for release from the encroachments and intrusions of the latter. The Alliance undoubtedly eases the situation as affecting the relations of the United States and Japan today, but at the expense of all those larger interests which hold within themselves the destiny of peace and freedom in the Eastern world. The Senate should repudiate this agreement, conceived in secrecy and born in deception, just as it repudiated the earlier compact of the League of Nations. That it will do so is certain, if public sentiment is as quick to understanding in this latter case as it was in the former.

This paper has held from the beginning that the late Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer's so-called "red raids" of January 2, 1920, constituted the foulest betrayal of American liberties in the history of the Republic. If ever there was a man who deserved to be impeached, stripped of the honors and emoluments of public office, and driven with the whip-lashes of denunciation into the obscurity of private life, it was Mr. Palmer. It was because we felt so intensely about this matter, that we hailed with satisfaction and relief the famous report of the twelve lawyers, prepared and issued by the National Popular Government League, which condemned so unreservedly the conduct of the Attorney-General. It is for the same reason that we hail the report upon this question just submitted by Senator Walsh, of Montana, for the investigating subcommittee, to the Senate Judiciary Committee. Senator Walsh finds that the raids were harsh, lawless, and a reproach to American governmental traditions. He gives much attention to their "inhuman aspects," but lays chief emphasis upon the fact that the acts of the Attorney-General were in violation of the Federal statutes, in violation of the Bill of Rights, and a dangerous precedent in the usurpation of authority under pretense of legal sanction. It is pretty late in the day, of course, for these things to be said. Mr. Palmer is lost to public view; nobody knows or cares where he is or what he is doing. The fictitious importance given to his opinions and deeds by the accident of public office, has now disappeared, and the man will never be heard of again. But these reports are welcome all the same! In the first place, they keep the record straight. In the second place, they show that the American conscience is not dead—that it is still true that liberty cannot be infringed in this country with impunity.

Every once in a while there appears a book which, if we were a ruler clothed with absolute power, we would compel every one to read. Such a book has just been published by Professor James Harvey Robinson, of the New School for Social Research in New York, under the title, "The Mind in the Making." In his learned and lucid pages, the author does two things. First, he demonstrates that the contents of the average mind today represent a process of accumulation through the unnumbered centuries of the past, and are thus divided into successive strata, or layers of deposit, as definitely as the soil of the earth. Furthermore, he shows the various historical sources whence these contents are derived. Our animal heritage, our infantile or child experience, what we have acquired from our savage forbears, and lastly our acquisitions from such civilized epochs as those represented pre-eminently by the Greeks, the Medievalists, and the latter-day natural scientists—all these are analyzed, and what we have taken over and preserved from each carefully recorded. The result is revelation of the fact that our thoughts are not our own, nor based on any rational foundations of any kind. Our ideas are not ideas, but only a set of prejudices, superstitions, traditions, sanctified by nothing but age, which is itself the best evidence of their falsity. Most men do not think at all; and of those who do, most think only to the end of finding reasons for justifying what they have already been taught to believe. In the second place, Professor Robinson shows that our much-vaunted freedom of thought is practiced and respected only in the field of the natural sciences. Here a man can face the facts, draw his own con-

clusions, and present a new idea without being mobbed, vilified, or outlawed. It took three hundred years to win this freedom—but at last it has been won! In the social sciences, *per contra,* the situation is as bad as it ever was in the darkest ages of the past. The student of history, politics and economics is as fast bound to dogma as was the schoolman of the Middle Ages, and woe be unto him if he teach anything but the accepted tradition of existing society! The State is as ruthless if not as terrible a persecutor today as ever the Church was yesterday. In essence Professor Robinson's book is a plea for the release of intelligence. He wants the mind of man brought up to date. "We should proceed," he says, "to the thorough reconstruction of our mind," that we may be delivered from the impasse in which we now are perishing. In the power of "creative thought" to save the race, Professor Robinson has perfect confidence. "If some magical transformation could be produced in men's ways of looking at themselves and their fellows, no inconsiderable part of the evils which now afflict society would vanish away or remedy themselves automatically."

We are hearing a good deal these days about the theatre cleaning house, the newspaper cleaning house, and so on, but here comes Dr. Charles A. Ellwood demanding that the *church* clean house! This sounds rather alarming, for it suggests emphatically that here, as elsewhere, "there's something rotten in the state of Denmark." A careful reading of Dr. Ellwood's statement, however, reveals that he has nothing worse—and also nothing better!—than denominationalism; and this is perhaps "rotten" to justify the phrase about cleaning house. The world is perishing, he says, for lack of "the Christian ideal." "The thing that is needed," he continues, "is a revival of vital faith in the ideals of Christian living within the church itself." But how can this come about in a "disorganized and divided church"? It can't! Before the church can achieve anything along practical spiritual lines, it must first be *"united within itself."* And such union, says Dr. Ellwood, must be on a basis very different from anything hitherto attempted. No theological compromises, no devices of federation, will serve. What we must have as "the recognized basis of religious fellowship (is) full consecration to the service and redemption of mankind." The community must displace the creed, the society idea the church idea. That this of course means the definite end of denominationalism, as we understand it and see it about us today, goes without saying. And it is, or at least should be, equally obvious that churches which are genuinely concerned with the real business of religion, and not primarily with their own selfish sectarian interests, will abandon denominational lines forthwith, and seek union with others on the out-and-out basis of community life. There is no use playing with these facts longer. The churches are either serving religion or they are not—and this question of denomination versus community is the test!

UNITY wants to publish hymns—hymns as noble in spirit and modern in content as the one by Mr. Holt in the issue of March 2nd. Nothing is so much lacking today, in our common religious life, as hymns which fittingly express our present-day social faith. Our traditional hymnology needs not so much to be rewritten or adapted as scrapped altogether, and a new hymnology *created* to take its place. A beginning in this work has been made, as see Mabel Mussey's admirable collection of "Social Hymns." But it is only a beginning, and the work of years thus lies before us. UNITY wants to help in this task, and will do so by publishing such hymns of worth as may be sent to our office.

The Price of Justice

"The poor cannot afford justice in America." This statement is made not only by the passionate protester, but by the conservative lawyer and the scientific investigator. It is an indisputable fact which has been adequately known for many years. But unfortunately it is one of those generalized criticisms which does not rouse public opinion to effective action. The reformation of American justice mayhap awaits some dramatization which will make a vivid appeal to public opinion. Concrete illustration needs to be given wide publicity.

An interesting illustration of the price of justice is furnished by the now famous Sacco-Vanzetti trial, which has been called the "Mooney case of the East." The two men, Nicola Sacco and Bartolemeo Vanzetti, were accused of murdering a paymaster and a special guard officer and escaping with the pay-roll. Many people believed that the case was a frame-up; that these men were selected as victims of prosecution because they were known to be radical labor leaders. A determined stand was taken by friends of justice to see the case through and to provide adequate funds for the defense.

First, machinery must be set in motion for interesting the public. This means that pamphlets must be printed and circulated. Articles for newspapers and magazines must be written, cartoons must be drawn. Then public meetings must be organized which means advertising in the press and hiring halls which carry good publicity (sometimes the rent is as high

as $150). Much expense goes into this preliminary stage of working up interest in a public which has become almost immune to appeals and is tired of being opportuned for contributions.

Next, a secretary is hired to give his or her whole time to organizing the fund. This secretary must travel, must put up at hotels while on the road, must have stenographic assistants.

Organizations such as Civil Liberties, Workers' Defense, League for Democratic Control and others devote part of their energies and finances toward pushing the case.

Lawyers are hired. (There should have been a special kind of human being created without stomach for doing idealistic and unpopular tasks.) One lawyer is not sufficient, for attorneys have specialized abilities. One knows how to gather evidence, another, how to cross question, another how to handle an office. In this case four lawyers are engaged. They must work for months trying to find persons who witnessed the crime, usually witnesses do not volunteer their services, they must be hunted and frequently the hunting involves both skill and expense. Sometimes witnesses are as far away as Europe.

Technicians must be called in to assist the attorneys. Civil engineers make surveys of the scene of the crime, figure distances, measure the height of buildings, etc. Fire-arms experts make very important investigations into the delicate machinery of pistols. Their statements on the witness stand are crucial and decisive.

Meanwhile the appeal for funds goes on. The judiciary system absorbs astounding amounts of money, and the trial is not yet opened. An Italian mortgages his home, which is all he has, to make a contribution. A rich woman gives a thousand dollars. Gifts come in from labor union meetings, and there is a scattered response from the appeals of pamphlet and press.

When the trial opens there is the transcript of record to be paid for. This is absolutely vital for the refutation of the prosecution's case. Every word spoken in court must be typewritten, and this item sometimes reaches the appalling amount of one hundred dollars or more per day, and the trial is to last nearly two months.

After nearly a year of organization and appeal, it is suddenly found that the sum on hand for the defense is inadequate. Toward the end of the trial it is announced that the money is all gone, stenographers will have to be dismissed, and at least one of the attorneys generously announces that he will waive his claims until a more convenient time. A woman, a modern embodiment of the old New England passion for justice, turns over the balance of her current expense bank account to the uses of the case.

Fifty thousand dollars has been raised and expended. And the jury brings in the unanimous verdict —"Guilty in the first degree."

But the trial must go to further and higher tribunals to establish justice beyond all doubt. And the cost continues to mount. More organization—more appeals!

This for two Italian laborers whose cases are dramatic and whose plight arouses an unusual degree of popular sympathy.

But what of hundreds of other cases which have not been championed by organizations and which have found no support in labor unions or by the generous rich? The answer is obvious. "The poor cannot afford justice in America." Is it not time that popular opinion framed another answer: "America cannot afford to have justice denied to the poor"?

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

The Pacifist Movement in Austria Since the Outbreak of the Great War

Paradoxical as it may sound, the pacifist movement in Austria found a comparatively small number of partisans in former times for the very reason that the Austrian national character bears in itself strong pacifist instincts. Warlike and militarist traditions never really permeated the public spirit in Austria so that it was difficult to organize an antagonist movement against an evil which nobody seriously believed a danger. No doubt, a militarist tradition did exist in former Austria, because this state was an old military monarchy, but this tradition was the preserve of a narrow circle which, high above the common folk, operated in retired secrecy. Not even the majority of the commissioned officers of the former Austro-Hungarian army could be looked at as genuine representatives of a militarist spirit; warlike ambitions at least, were far removed from most of them. This may seem surprising, for there can be little doubt by this time that Austrian militarism was chiefly guilty of the immediate outbreak of the world war. In reality, however, it was quite a small number of autocrats who, provoked by the aggressive policy of Serbia and the dubious attitude of some other powers, resorted to the frantic means of a preventive war in order to save the Monarchy from further undermining. And in doing so they even acted inconsistently with the prevailing tradition of old Austria, for this state, on account of its national and cultural diversity and the geographical disconnectedness of its provinces (in former times), as well as in consequence of the far-reaching autonomy of its parts, and its chronic financial straits, and from general conservativism, was always rather disinclined to run the risk of an armed conflict. If in spite of this Austria had to

fight so many wars in the course of her history, it was because in most cases *she* was the aggressed party. Therefore public opinion in Austria did not believe that the state would ever again rush into a war, as indeed happened in the end. The people neglected to be on their guard, and were taken by surprise.

By this we do not mean to say that the Austrian pacifists were blind to the imminent danger. Austria, to be sure, has given birth to some of the most eminent German pacifists, such as Baroness von Suttner, Heinrich Lammasch, A. H. Fried, Josef Popper-Lynkeus, Prof. Josef Redlich, Rudolf Goldscheid, and others. But the mass of the people were not to be roused out of their careless neglect of the danger. Of course, at the moment of the outbreak of the war the number of hurrah-bawling patriots and camp-followers of the war party was not small, and, judging public opinion by the press, one might have believed that the whole of Austria hailed the declaration of war as a redeeming deed; in reality, however, feelings were different. The severe losses which Austria suffered from the very outset threw the minds of the people into a disposition wavering between sullen depression and revolutionary exasperation; but only little transpired of this state of things, because censorship was practiced with the utmost rigorousness. But when the Austrian Premier Count Stürgkh, one of those responsible for the declaration of war, and a main supporter of the system of suppression, was shot by the social democrat Dr. Friedrich Adler who, brought to trial, hurled accusations of unheard-of boldness into the face of the ruling system, all sympathies were on the side of the assassin. The socialist press, above all the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the *Kampf* had always maintained a critical and opposing attitude, and had fought, within the limits of the possible, against the prolongation of the war, the harshness of warfare, and the persecution of pacifists. Among the non-socialists, it was chiefly the daily paper *Die Zeit,* edited by Dr. Heinrich Kanner and Prof. Singer, which resisted the war mentality and spoke up for a peace of reconciliation, until the Supreme Command of the German army forced the Austrian government to the resolution of suppressing this paper whereupon it passed into other hands. (Cf. the interesting book by Dr. H. Kanner, "Kaiserliche Katastrophenpolitik," edited by E. P. Tal & Co., Vienna, 1922, one of the best expositions on the causes of the war.) Afterward Dr. Benno Karpeles issued his weekly publication *Der Friede* which grew into a center of radical pacifism. This periodical exercised a great influence, and continued to appear even after the armistice, spite of censorship vexations and heedless of the furious attacks of the pan-Germans. Masterly achievements were also the articles published during the war by the eminent satirist Karl Kraus in his periodical *Die Fakel* (The Torch). With matchless art the author directed his shrewd satire against German and Austrian militarism, plying his weapon with such adroitness that he could seldom be got at by censorship. At Zürich the Austrian pacifist Dr. A. H. Fried, who had taken refuge in Switzerland, bravely fought for the same ideals in his monthly *Friedenswarte,* which was smuggled over the frontiers to the Central Powers under ingenious disguises.

Already in September, 1914, the President of the Austrian Peace Society, Rudolf Goldscheid, published a book on the relations of foreign and internal politics pointing out the responsibility of the reactionary system in Germany. In 1915 the same writer published a pamphlet, "Germany's Greatest Danger," pleading for an understanding with England. These publications were the first pacifist writings which appeared in German language during the war.

In this context may also be mentioned a book published by the writer of these lines under the pseudonym of "Germanus Liber" ("Deutschland und England," Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1918), which contained a selection of articles published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and in the *Kampf.* This book laid open the previous history of the war in utter contradiction to the official war legend, and strongly opposed the pan-German ideology and the war mentality as manifested particularly in the writings of German professors. The book, although at once suppressed, was widely spread.

Thus in Austria, too, there existed circles of intellectuals which did not submit to the dictatorship of the sabre. A list drawn up by the Supreme Command of the German army, and revealed after the war contained also a great number of prominent Austrians suspected as "untrustworthy."

Of much greater influence than this group were certain Catholic circles which had connections even with the Imperial House itself. Most conspicuous among these was the famous professor of international law, Heinrich Lammasch, who indefatigably worked for a peace of conciliation and who, thanks to the great credit he enjoyed abroad, might have succeeded in his efforts if matters had not been already too entangled. (Cf. George Herron, on his negotiations with Dr. Lammasch in the commemorative book "Heinrich Lammasch" below quoted and in the *World Tomorrow* of 1920.) To this circle belonged also the great moral philosopher, Prof. F. W. Förster; the prelate, Prof. Seipel (now chief of the Christian Socialist party), the industrial Julius Meinl, and many others. This group obtained a great influence over the young Emperor. It is known that the Emperor Charles, advised by these men, had made, since his accession to the throne, several serious attempts towards a peace of reconciliation. These negotiations, which at times seemed to give fair prospects of success, failed in the end, because on both sides elements had got the upper hand which were bent on utter annihilation of the adversary. Especially the entrance of America into the war made the uncompromising elements on the Allied side all-powerful and President Wilson refused to listen to peace proposals on the part of Austria. On the other side the preposterous influence of the Pan-Germans was enhanced by this attitude of the Allies. The history of these negotiations has been written, on the ground of documents, by G. de Manteyer. I have before me the English edition of this book ("Austria's Peace Offer," London, Constable, 1921), but there exists also a French edition. The same subject is treated in the divers "Memoirs" of statesmen, e. g., Czernin, Erzberger, etc.

The Peace Treaty struck Austria with dire cruelty. The pledged word of the Allies was broken, and self-determination prostituted. Austria would never have fallen into her present sad plight, had self-determination been respected. Her richest districts, inhabited by a purely German population, were torn from her under the most futile pretexts and given as war spoils to Czecho-Slovakia. The Austrian Republic

was defenselessly abandoned to the political and economic blackmailing of her neighbors, which caused the breakdown of her currency and was followed up by infinite misery. Nevertheless the spirit of revenge and nationalist hatred gained but little ground in New Austria, far less than in any other country in a similar situation. The population bore and are still bearing all sufferings with admirable patience, and put up with their hard fate, recognizing that Austria can only regain her former economic and cultural prosperity by a policy of absolute peacefulness and neutrality. For Austria, however, it is also a vital condition that her neighbors should live in peace with each other, for, having no outlet to the sea, Austria is utterly dependent on the surrounding states for food, fuel, and raw materials. Every impending conflict between Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, or Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary, or Jugoslavia and Italy, jeopardizes Austria's supplies. Therefore it is an interest of Austria to propagate the pacifist spirit also among her neighbors. It is characteristic that not even the diminutive army of 30,000 men permitted to Austria by the Peace Treaty could be levied by voluntary recruiting. The actual number of the Austrian army amounts in fact to scarcely two-thirds of the prescribed standard. The Austrian has indeed but little inclination for the military profession. This military weakness, it must be said, has led to the consequence that stronger neighbors, especially Hungary, have frequently encroached upon the rights and interests of Austria, and Austria was left without an efficacious support by the Entente.

Since the foundation of the Austrian Republic the pacific movement has considerably revived. The old Austrian Peace Association (*Oesterreichische Friedensgesellschaft,* Vienna, I., Spiegelgasse 4, with about 800 members) continues its honorable traditions under the presidency of Mr. Rudolf Goldscheid. The Austrian League of Nations Society founded last year (Vienna, I., Burgring 9, with about 300 members) is presided over by Dr. Constantin Dumba, former Austrian ambassador at Washington. This association, thanks to its excellent secretariat, displays an extraordinary activity, and has already issued a series of valuable publications, for instance a "Bibliography of War Literature," by its secretary, Dr. Kunz, a commemorative publication in honor of Heinrich Lammasch, a collection of "Opinions on the Peace Treaties," and a fundamental work by Prof. Walker on international civil law, which will also be published in an English edition, and so on. The Association, moreover, is responsible for the German edition of the monthly reports of the League of Nations. In the autumn of 1921 it had the satisfaction to welcome the representatives of all its sister associations convened in Vienna for a conference. This meeting, for the first time since the war, united on German soil, a great number of prominent pacifists of all countries, and greatly contributed to the re-establishment of good relations.

Extraordinarily active is also the Austrian branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Vienna, I., Hofburg; president, Frau Yella Hertzka, 800 members). The international congress convened by this League in summer, 1921, at Vienna was attended by very many delegates from all quarters of the world, among others from America, Japan, China, and Australia, and turned out an imposing manifestation for pacifism. A detailed report of this congress is about to appear. The Austrian branch of the Women's International League has also issued a number of valuable publications by Helene Scheu-Riesz, Rosa Mayreder, etc.

Of recent foundation is also the Austrian "Union of Democratic Control" affiliated to the well known London Union headed by E. D. Morel, with a few hundred members under the presidency of Prof. Karl Brockhausen (Vienna, IX., Garnisongasse 4). The Union has already arranged meetings attended by a numerous public in which lectures were given by Mrs. Ethel Snowden, Prof. Aulard, Prof. Redlich, Prof. Kelsen, Dr. Karl Renner, and others.

The *Weltjugendliga* (president, Georges Waltz, Vienna, IV., Mayerhofergasse 2) is chiefly working among the young, and has affiliated associations at Berlin and other German cities. The "Society for Peace Education" (president, Wilhelm Börner, Vienna, III., Obere Viaductgasse 32), the *Sozialpädagogische Gesellschaft* (president, Georg Schmiedl, Vienna, II./1, Rembrandtstrasse 41), and the Society *Bereitschaft* (president, Prof. Viktor Hammerschlag, Vienna, IX./2, Alserstrasse 26), pursue similar aims. A small but very active group of radical pacifists is united in the *Bund geistig Tätiger* (Dr. Franz Kobler, Vienna, VII., Mariahilferstrasse 112), which supports the program of activism and issues a valuable year book entitled *Das Ziel* (The Aim). The principles of Tolstoy are the basis of the *Bund herrschaftsloser Sozialisten* (Vienna, I., Himmelpfortgasse 9), headed by Rudolf Grossman, whose pen name is Pierre Ramus, who edits a noteworthy periodical, *Erkenntnis und Befreiung.*"

In summer 1921 an international congress of war victims and ex-soldiers was held in Vienna to which M. Henri Barbusse brilliantly exposed his ideas. The effect was the foundation of a Vienna *Clarté* group (Frau Dr. Anna Nussbaum, Vienna, VIII., Wickenburggasse 3).

Finally some associations must be mentioned which propagate pacifism on religious principles, such as the *Katholische Weltjugendliga,* Gratz; the *Christokratische Vereinigung,* Vienna, VIII., Strozzigasse, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Vienna, VIII., Schlösselgasse 13, promoted by the Quakers.

Shortly before the war pacifism in Austria suffered a severe loss by the death of Baroness von Suttner, whose name will always shine among the pioneers of pacifism. Her memoirs afford an interesting insight into the rich work of her life. Heinrich Lammasch died soon after the war. His personality and work find a due appreciation in a book recently published under the title "Heinrich Lammasch," by M. Lammasch and H. Sperl (Vienna, Deuticke, 1922). Dr. A. H. Fried, the indefatigable champion for international organization, died a short time after the publication of his most remarkable "War Diary" (4v., Rascher, Zürich), which is a stirring monument of the war times. Dr. Fried as well as Prof. Lammasch died broken-hearted in consequence of the disillusion caused to them by the peace of violence.

The ideas of internationalism are most effectively propagated by the weekly publication *Die Wage,* (Vienna, I., Herrengasse 23), edited by Dr. Marmorek. Also the monthly *Reconstruction,* published by a well known English writer, Miss A. S. Levetus (Vienna, XIX., Peter Jordanstrasse 27), and written in English gives a survey on Austrian pacifism, though it is mainly devoted to political and economic news concerning Austria and the neighboring states.

Vienna, Austria FRIEDRICH HERTZ.

Is Justice Our Great Word?

We constantly hear good and true men say that justice is the most fundamental of all things; this seems plausible. I wonder, however, whether any greater issue faces the world than that which lies half hidden under the statement of this familiar idea. I suspect that, so far as righteous men fought on either side in the World War, they fought for their ideal of justice, without ever having thought out that higher and greater thing, humanity, which, if they had seen it, would have forbidden them to fight even for justice.

What is it that people mostly mean when they talk about justice? What do they seek? They mean, and they wish to get, what, as they say, belongs to them—their pay, their reward, proper thanks or appreciation, suitable damages or reparation in case they have been injured, ample apology if they have suffered insult. They want all that belongs to them, to the uttermost. Do not many people want so much to get justice that they would prefer to have somewhat more than the exact amount? We all desire justice also for our friends, our party, our country, and we are apt, like children, to be impatient and angry if justice is denied or delayed. Being zealous in behalf of justice, we deem our anger "righteous indignation." So long as justice is the chief aim, indignation is the fitting response to injustice.

Now, when people stress their sense of wounded justice they presently wish to see the offenders punished, and punished adequately, too. They demand punishment as a right, without which justice can never be satisfied. They follow the well-worn ways of the world and threaten the doers of injustice, and grow even more determined to make them do justice. If the courts will not get justice for them, then they fall back upon the primitive right to procure justice in their own way. It is with this thought that we hear it frequently said that "all governments rest upon force." They are armed with force to procure justice at home and abroad and to resist injustice. How can this be denied, so long as we thoughtlessly agree that justice is the principal thing?

I do not propose to say a word in derogation of justice. I wish actually to lift it to a higher level by setting it in its true relation to that for which it exists. To this end let us ask some necessary questions:

First. Does any one ever know what justly belongs to him? Exactly how much pay ought you to have for your work? How much praise, if any, do you deserve for your conduct? Just at what point ought the margin between buyer and seller to be divided so as to do justice to both? Or, again, how much punishment ought the evil-doer to receive? The more I ask such questions, the more impossible I find it to answer them. No man knows for himself, as against his adversary, what real justice would give him. No group or nation knows this in an issue with another group. It is curiously probable that the individual, thrown entirely upon his honor as to what he should give the other, would see more fairly what justice demands than when he and the other begin to quarrel as to what justice is between them. This is to say, that the conscience in a man as to what he ought to give the other is a nicer instrument than his sense of justice touching his rights over the other. Thus I can imagine that if Germany had been put upon her honor as to what reparation she ought to have made to Belgium and France, she might have come nearer to justice than the sum of the reparations assessed upon her by the Allies. All that I wish, however, to claim here is that no one can ever be trusted to determine what justice for himself is as against another's claim. This is the experience of the world. It is also common experience, that no wisdom exists on this earth infallible enough to satisfy an angry man or an angry nation while they remain in their anger.

We discover another interesting fact: The more we seek to get justice for ourselves, the less we succeed. It is said that man cannot get happiness by seeking it; it comes as we give up seeking for it. It is so with justice; to seek it is to miss it. To think about our rights produces an uncomfortable psychic obsession, which, when a man goes to law with it, is called litigiousness. The whole world illustrates this today. The belligerents all said that they went to war in behalf of their rights—that is, they sought justice. And now not a victor nation is satisfied. They make their own awards for themselves, with power to compel the vanquished, and the chances are that these awards will prove their ruination.

But did not one nation go into the war in sheer disinterestedness and for the sake of giving justice to others? Grant this extraordinary proposition for a moment, if you can, and then observe that, having entered the war as an adversary and a claimant for rights as against others, she immediately put herself out of court as incapable, like the others, to determine what justice was. She had thrown the bias of her indignation, her suffering, her heavy costs, into the scales. Thus she could not see that the famous Treaty of Versailles was based on injustice, in so far as it made one nation alone responsible for the war. This was a falsehood, and therefore a wrong to the other party. By reason also of this unjust weight thrown into the scales, she could not see that the old heathen way of allowing the victors to assess punishments upon the beaten—that is, to constitute themselves judges upon their own claims—was an outrage upon the conscience of the world! My point here is, that this, the vastest of all assumed attempts of a mighty group of nations to procure justice for themselves, has been and is the most melancholy failure in all history. If this effort failed, mankind can never make this type of effort succeed.

A wonderful bit of wisdom comes to us now; it is that word which men rattle over their lips so glibly that

they never stop to ask what it means: "Blessed (or happy) are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." In other words, they shall be satisfied. If they are not satisfied it must be because they have not sought justice in the right way. They have sought to get it—that is, to compel others to give it to them. They have sought it for themselves or for their own side without thinking of the other side. What Jesus means is different; but no one can deny that it rightly comes first. Seek to *do* justice; seek this with all your might, as thirsty men seek water. Who ever tried this and did not like it? Do your best to give the other all that belongs to him. Do this every time. It is certainly the secret of the happy life. It seems startlingly paradoxical that this works, as the other way does not, in procuring justice for yourself. It works, as every natural law does, under the proper conditions, in the long run and in proportion to the force or will that you put into it.

They tell you that it is human nature to compel others to do your will. Yes; the lower, or animal, nature works so. But it is also human nature to love to please others and to co-operate with others. We see this even in children. If, then, the man with whom you deal is evidently thinking of your side as well as his own and seeking to do his best for you, it is human nature to meet him half way in this effort. This holds good between nations. If the United States is obviously friendly toward Japan, the Japanese tend to behave likewise to us. You can prove this law by innumerable beautiful stories; you can prove it by your own experience. Your friend is your friend by the measure in which you like to give him everything which belongs to him.

"To do justice" is not a mere rule. It is an attitude, or a habit of life, or a spirit. It is essentially the mode of expression of the human in us, as the effort to make others do justice is the expression of the brute in us. It is just here that we come upon the reality that is higher and larger than justice—the common humanity. You are not a man until you know this and act by virtue of its impulse.

The fact is, that we owe each other more than bare justice. There are plenty of cases where justice is done outwardly by the payment of money. You owed the man money for his service or his wares and you have paid him. Without a smile, or a word, or a gesture of humane recognition? You have given him the least possible justice. To get and give justice is to have satisfaction on both sides. Are you and the neighbor satisfied? Hardly would a horse be satisfied if you barely give him his fodder and never a comradely stroke of your hand.

On account of this deeper humanity, which somehow has its roots even in the animals, we maintain that no man can be trusted to know what justice is, as against another person toward whom he ranges himself as an adversary or enemy. It is not enough to pay the debt or make the reparation. The greater thing remains, namely, that you and the other must resume your normal relation in human society as fellow-men.

The Versailles Peace stands as a horrible example of what ought not to be. It was necessary that whichever party owed restitution should render it willingly; otherwise peace could not be made. It was necessary that the victors should not only lay down their arms, but that they should lay aside their anger. To fear the prostrate enemy, to suspect him of evil, to expect mischief, to insist on standing guard over him, was virtually to remain at war. Schoolboys contrive to do better than the great powers of the world did. The worst of it was, that the churches, having dropped their business of teaching religion and having joined in the work of war, had lost the vision needful to teach the gospel of human forgiveness.

We talk "humanity." What does the word mean? It means that there is something within us worthy of respect. It means the best in us. It means that which any and every man is at his best. It is that beneath the distinctions of race, language, sex, physical strength or degree of culture, wherein we are more alike than we are different. It is that by which we all can stand, if we will, on the level of friends. It is the one hope of a coming age of real civilization. Every religion held by modern men is supposed to teach this. But the religious have generally made it seem difficult, whereas their work should have been, first, to trust it themselves, and then to show every one how beautiful and practicable it is.

When you see what our common humanity is, and not till you see this, can you understand how natural it is to *do* justice, and how preposterous it is to stand off and seek to make others do justice. Did you ever really do justice under compulsion? Could you ever do it without wishing and willing to do it? It is impossible to give the other what belongs to him unless you give him your good-will? Humanity is essentially the working of the good-will in us. In ill-will, in self-will, in anger, you have broken the flow of the good-will; you have lost your own best self and are less than yourself, whereas we owe each other our best selves, as when we go into human society we are bound to wear clean clothes and to treat one another with courtesy, with friendly faces and not with frowns or sneers.

This holds good in respect to every one. We elders owe it to the children to show them deference and to be our best selves toward them. How else shall we help them to give us their best? You say, there are people whom we ought to disapprove. Well, what if there are those who disapprove of us? Is this any excuse for their excommunicating us from human society? Is this excommunication an act of humanity, or rather of egotism and pride on the part of the superior person? Grant that there are those whose conduct or character we may not approve; do we not still owe them good-will and possibly special sympathy, and to the very last respect for the humanity, however obscured, yet hidden under the semblance of men? Not to pity those needing pity is not to be wholly men; not to pity others is to need pity ourselves.

The trouble with the war system is that it is the culmination on a vast scale of a series of futile efforts of men, essentially pagan, not knowing the nature of justice, to force other men to do justice. All governments are still pagan so far as they express the idea of compelling force. They still represent the opinions, the social and economical customs, and the will of a class (probably in no country a majority of the people) who conceive it to be the business of the state to protect and defend the good people (that is, themselves) and their property and rights as against another set of people, at home or abroad, who always threaten to destroy society and wreck civilization. All our institutions of justice are the survivals of this enterprise to suppress dan-

gerous people and to compel the disorderly and dishonest to obey the law.

History is interpreted to mean that from time to time the wicked, the backward, the barbarous or outcasts have required to be put down by the good and the civilized. The nature of the conflict has been pictured dramatically as a fight between the powers of good—"our side"—and the evil powers—the opposite side. God was on our side, and Satan, as long as the world believed in him, was behind "our enemies." The World War was fought by the Allies on this assumption. The British and Americans especially, who of all nations most dearly love to compel others to be good, were fighting for righteousness, and Germany was the scapegoat nation, which must doubtless be punished—some said, annihilated.

The events of the past seven years have revealed the deeper issue which lay not only behind the war system, but behind the ancient scheme of government, which founded it upon force and regarded the compulsion, or repression, or extinction of "bad people" as the chief aim of legitimate authority. The old notion of sovereignty as something absolute, or quasi-divine by virtue of a majority vote, even in a modern republic, belonged to the same conception. We are coming to see the futility of these ideas. They are futile because they are untrue; they cannot be made to work, because our common humanity revolts against them. This is the only rational interpretation of recent history. This and nothing else has hope for future welfare.

The truth is that there has never been a civilized or righteous or really free nation. No nation can be good or wise enough to stand as the superior over any other. All the belligerents under the pressure of war descended to the same level; all did what they abhorred in their enemies. Not to go into details, the enforcement of the allied blockade upon Germany for five months after the armistice was as ruthless, cruel, criminal and probably far more destructive of innocent life than anything which imperialistic Germany did in the war.

If there are superior persons in a nation, the harm that befalls them the moment they drop from the level of their humanity and take up the practice of violence, is greater than the harm that befalls the more barbarous or backward. If the more righteous use the barbarous means and seem to succeed, they are doomed eventually to all the more signal defeat. But the war proved, both in the story of how the nations went into it, and also in the false peace with which they concluded it, that all peoples are more alike than they are different. We have all alike been disappointed and humiliated. We could not make the world free or righteous or democratic by violating every ideal of freedom and justice and democracy.

Does this work out now into a system of lawlessness? Shall we give up governments? Shall we not try any longer to defend our lives and our rights? Shall we let burglars and murderers go at large? Shall we have no armed force to protect our shores from invasion? These questions are not so very difficult. Their answer is plain, as soon as we steer by our ideals and begin to obey the laws by which men normally live together.

What is government, not in the lurid glare of the cruel past, but in the light of our humanity? It is a grand system of co-operation, whereby we may so order our individuality and our social forces also as to procure for all of us not only the means of existence, but the best and freest conditions for the fulfillment of useful and happy lives. Looking this way, we contemplate no longer any privileged class or any criminal class. We aim at the common welfare, and we need the aid of every specially gifted man and woman in the community. We are beginning to see what a few able and humane men can do, even handicapped with the horrible old prison system, to change jails full of prisoners into hospitals and schools of hope. There is nothing so mighty in the world as good-will. What is more, the good-will of a single friendly man or woman is "catching"; every one feels its electrical pull.

We have been hypnotized to look the wrong way for our "dangerous people." We have expected to find them among the poor or the new immigrants. We have been afraid of socialists or anarchists or the I. W. W. They are no more dangerous than the people who persecute and lynch them. We look over seas to find dangerous nations. But other nations are like us; some of them think we are dangerous. The dangerous people are in Washington and New York and all over the land. They talk loudly of justice, and always mean justice for themselves; they want special privileges and tariffs; they would send our boys to kill and be killed for the sake of oil concessions in Mexico or the Open Door in the East. The dangerous people may be in Congress, or judges, or bankers, or ministers, or labor leaders, or any of us, indeed, who think of justice as something to be forced upon others, and wrested from others, and never see that justice is something cheerfully given to every one. Justice is the good manners of humanity.

Finally, we must stop looking the wrong way for protection from violence. The United States so far has spent most of its billions of money to meet violence with violence, as Rome did, as Germany and England did. Every great fort was a scowl, every battleship was a frown, directed to our neighbors.

A group of powerful people conceived a League to Enforce Peace. The very name carried a threat. These able men did not understand the human nature of a threat. The threat is the preparation against mischief and disobedience. To threaten is to expect and invite and almost compel the violent spirit. It is the voice of the superior or stronger asserting itself over the weaker. Thus, for years we have used the threatening tone toward Mexico. We have made our Monroe Doctrine an instrument of fear to all the peoples south of us.

It is time now to look the opposite way for security. Suppose we invest the cost of a single warship in planting a school in every province of Mexico; suppose we treat the Japanese and every other people as we like to be treated; suppose we construct a veritable commonwealth of nations, not built on force, but on the common humanity. Where is the people whom we should need to fear or threaten?

The Advocate of Peace. —*Charles F. Dole.*

A Tribute to Lammasch, "Pacifist and Statesman"

In a recent memorial volume entitled *"Heinrich Lammasch, Seine Aufzeichnungen, Sein Wirken und Seine Politik,"* by his daughter, Marga Lammasch, assisted by Hans Sperl, Dr. George D. Herron of Geneva, gives a full account of the work of Lammasch for peace in the early part of February, 1918, in support of Wilson's declaration for a spiritual rather than military victory for the allies.

For many years he had urged the Emperor Karl to lead in the "transmutation of the empire into a Confederation" after the fashion of Switzerland, with a constitutional monarchy, the states themselves becoming self-governing democracies. The future of Austria in his judgment lay in co-operation not with Prussia but with Italy, and afterwards with England and the United States. This view Karl had been brought to accept in 1917 by the influence of Lammasch and Foerster and the details of a plan to end the war by the withdrawal of Austria were discussed at Château Hofgat in Switzerland, the home at the time of Dr. Mühlon. This meeting was arranged by Dr. de Jong van Beek en Donk, the efficient secretary of the "Organization Centrale." Lammasch declared that "the fate of the world depended upon the building of a golden bridge between Vienna and Washington."

If Prussia should win—certainly the world would be thus spiritually lost: the materialization of Europe if not of America would inevitably follow. On the other hand, if the war went on unto a mere military triumph of the allies . . . faith in the triumph of the Wilson idea would but turn upon and rend me. . . . The actual and inevitable choice lay between his proposed golden bridge and an ultimate European society become a hybrid of Bolshevism and super-capitalism.

He predicted in February, 1918, accurately the present condition of Europe and the present policy of France as the inevitable logic of an unqualified Allied military triumph.

Lammasch's whole faith in a better future for the nations was stated upon the insistency of Wilson's program and personal action. In thus supporting the policy of Wilson he was acting as no mere Austrian patriot or statesman, but as the lover of humanity which his long and devoted career had already proved him to be.

Lammasch believed that the Emperor was wholeheartedly in sympathy with his work and "he was also supported therein by his clever and forcible consort, the empress."

The details of Lammasch's plans for the withdrawal of Austria-Hungary from alliance with Prussia, and her reconstruction as a federated state are given in the work referred to. In answer to the question as to whether America would be permitted to dictate as to the interior condition of the Austrian Empire, Lammasch replied:

We will not only permit you, we will embrace you. If President Wilson will but make conditions of peace more explicit, so far as we of Austria are concerned, we will accept them. We will then confront Germany with the demand that she make peace accordingly. And Germany dare not refuse. If she refuse, then Bavaria and Wurttemberg, probably all South Germany, will join us. Thus the refusal of Berlin will result in the instant breaking up of the German Empire.

Even if the Emperor failed, his failure would constitute a sacrifice that would be vicarious and thence universally redemptive.

Though the meetings were in secret, spies reported that peace negotiations were in the air.

Count Czernan hurried with his suspicions to Berlin. And Berlin served what was practically an ultimatum on Vienna. Kaiser Karl wavered and then failed . . . Alas, instead of the end of the war in a moral victory redemptive of the world, Lammasch became the last Prime Minister of the Empire and sorrowfully performed its liquidation.

"No one ever knew him," says Herron, "who did not regard him with affection and reverence. I do not know of having previously met a man whom I so instantly revered . . . I knew myself to be indeed in the presence of one of the purest souls, one of the truest seers, one of the altogether noblest and wisest of men yet remaining on the earth. He went out in what was to him the dusk of civilization, the dusk before the deepest night that has ever settled down upon historic humanity."

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Gandhi's Diplomatic Victory

The cabinet crisis in London, forced by the resignation of Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, following his publication of Earl Reading's note asking for the revision of the Treaty of Sevres, marks the greatest diplomatic victory in Gandhi's extraordinary career.

Last January Gandhi, the leader of the Non-co-operation movement in India served a notice to those who wanted to co-operate with the Government to the effect that he would be willing to have a Round Table Conference with the Government provided the Government be agreed to settle three demands he had to make on behalf of the Indian Nationalists. The first demand was that justice be done to Turkey by revising the Treaty of Sevres on the following principles:

Full restoration to the Turks of Constantinople, Adrianople, Anatolia, including Smyrna and Thrace. Complete withdrawal of non-Moslem influence from Arabia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, and therefore withdrawal of British troops whether English or Indian from these territories.—*Young India*, January 19, 1922.

Earl Reading and others thought that the demand was very unreasonable because it would mean revision of even the Treaty of Versailles and it would be impossible to recommend it to the British Government. But Gandhi issued his ultimatum that he would not give up the Non-co-operation program and the masses of India have begun to refuse to pay taxes in all parts of India, particularly in Bengal, the Punjab and the United Provinces. The Indian soldiers have also refused to stay in the British army. The unrest has become so serious that Lord Rawlinson, the commander-in-chief of the British army in India, on March 9th demanded that the military budget of India be increased from 48 crores to 62 crores of Ruppees (one crore is equivalent to $4,865,000), which is more than double the military and naval expense of Japan. This bill was passed in spite of the opposition of the Indians. Lord Rawlinson claimed during the debate that

seditious propaganda was being circulated among the population, which caused the necessity of calling out of troops almost

daily to preserve peace and guard against attempts of seditionists to tamper with the loyalty of Indian soldiers. . . . Internal condition of India gave cause for serious anxiety, and the ability of the government to maintain law and order would be seriously tested in no distant future.

The strength of the revolutionary movement in India and the failure of repressive measures adopted by the government of India to check its progress has forced the government to recommend the following measures to gain the confidence of the Mohammedans of India, and if possible, to separate them from the Hindus:

The Government of India particularly emphasises the necessity of guaranteeing the neutrality of the Dardanelles and security of the non-Moslem population. It also urged evacuation of Constantinople, sovereignty of the sultan over holy places, restoration of the Turks in Thrace, also in Adrianople and Smyrna. The Government urges that these points are of supreme importance to India.

This shows that although Gandhi's demands were spurned three months ago by Earl Reading, yet the Government of India has to come down and accept Gandhi's demands as a basis for the solution of the Turkish question. This is the greatest diplomatic victory of Gandhi, the advocate of Non-violent Revolution in India. This also shows that India is the center of British diplomacy in world politics and Britain is willing to make compromises in other parts of the world to keep her hold in India.

But the net result of this is more far-reaching than the people can realize at the outset. It may mean that in the coming Genoa Conference Britain would try to win Turkey on her side on the basis of Indian program against France and Russia; but if that be impossible to do, because of the opposition of the British unionists and others, then the stock of British prestige in the Orient will be lowered and the courage of the Indian nationalists will be magnified. It would then probably result in bloody massacres in India about which General Rawlinson has hinted in his speech. But at this moment Gandhi has won the greatest diplomatic victory over all the statesmen who were engaged in framing the Treaty of Sevres, because the treaty will be revised in some form or other through British initiative created by the pressure of Indian unrest led by Mahatma Gandhi. This is also a landmark in the diplomatic tradition of the coming Republic of India—the United States of India—the tradition of anti-imperialism, Live and Let Others Live.

March 10, 1922. TARAKNATH DAS,
International Secretary
of Friends of Freedom for India.

Earl Grey's Half-Truth

In the debate on the Four-Power Treaty, Senator Underwood quoted Earl Grey as follows:

If there had only been a machinery by which those nations could have consulted together, the Great War would have been avoided.

This statement has been the basis of countless arguments in behalf of the League of Nations, but when it is examined in the light of the facts in the case it is seen to be a typical half-truth. The implication is that there was no "machinery" available for a discussion of the approaching conflict (which in its less violent form had been in progress for thirty years), that there was no possible way for the nations to meet and talk over their differences. The fact is that there were present in London, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg representatives of all the nations concerned, and that in effect they did consult; at least they all talked with the chief diplomatic officers of the countries to which they were accredited. These men knew what they wanted and what their potential enemies (actual enemies, really) wanted; there was little confusion—they all knew that a "show down" was due; they all understood what was coming. Great Britain, of course, concealed from Germany her intention to enter the war until it was too late for Germany to draw back, until indeed the Russian mobilization was complete or very nearly complete. That was the major deception of the emergency. But the war could have been prevented even then, if Great Britain had been willing; whatever "machinery" was needed was available, never fear; all the telegraph lines were still in good condition. One single message to Berlin would have been enough. That message was not sent. The war could have been avoided, but only by the sacrifice on the part of Germany of her ambition to build up a colonial system similar to that of Great Britain and the sacrifice on the part of Great Britain of her ambition to suppress the Continental supremacy of Germany. That was the quarrel: the rivalry between Great Britain and Germany. Great Britain will never allow one nation to dominate the Continent of Europe; she has fought Spain, France, Holland, and even Denmark on that issue and she is very likely to fight France again for the same reason—the elements of a war between the late Allies are now present. And Great Britain will never allow one nation to dominate the seas; her colonies are her life; no one may threaten them; the sea is her domain.

The Great War came in August, 1914, because conditions were right for a British victory. All the talk about being unprepared was "propaganda." No amount of discussion would have prevented the war after Earl Grey became convinced that Great Britain could beat Germany decisively. If Belgium had not been invaded by the Germans, it would have been used as a highway by the Allies; that was a settled point in the Allies' plan; it is useless to deny it. Of course, Belgium would not have been "conquered"; she would simply have been used.

Now that the struggle is supposed to be over, we ought to have wit and courage enough to see the facts as they were and as they are.

An eight-year-old evasion by Earl Grey is no argument for anything but a more accurate understanding of Earl Grey.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

There is no good arguing with the inevitable. The only argument with an East wind is to put on your overcoat.—

If you count the sunny and the cloudy days of the whole year, you will find that the sunshine predominates.—*Ovid.*

CORRESPONDENCE

Anent Mr. Robinson's Political Economy

In the UNITY of March 2nd Mr. Alson H. Robinson sought to correct the popular misconception of Darwin's teaching, and in doing so he unwittingly fell into an equally serious error as regards the great thinkers who laid the foundations for a science of political economy. If it seems almost impossible to make it generally understood that survival of the fittest does not mean survival of the strongest or fiercest, but of those who best adapt themselves to the conditions of their environment, it appears to be no less difficult to win acceptance for a true understanding of competition.

"There used to be a maxim," says Mr. Robinson, "in the political economy of another day, a maxim which is still widely applied in all its primitive and barbaric cruelty to the effect that competition is the life of trade. The experience of these latter days, painful and tragic as it is, is slowly establishing the conviction that far from being the life, competition is become the death of commercial activity."

There is a superficial reason for taking this point of view because of the conflict that occurs in the contest for natural resources as a basis for production, in the control of markets, and in the search for employment. Although any human association worthy to be called a civilization depends upon the complicated processes of the production and exchange of wealth, the individuals engaged in these processes are impelled by some force or other to resort to what Mr. Robinson describes without exaggeration as barbaric cruelty. But to say that the impelling force is competition is to leave out of account the most important factor in the situation. For competition instead of being permitted to act freely, has ever been modified and distorted by the pressure of monopoly.

What are the facts regarding the competition for the use of natural resources? By the sanction of law the mines, the forests, the water power, and the land in general, whether used for homes or for business purposes, have passed into private ownership. It is the action of monopoly in limiting competition which gives those who control the vital necessities the power of becoming extortioners, and which produces the illogical conjunction of unemployed men and unused natural opportunities. The evils connected with manufacture and trade may be traced to the same source. The enslavement of workers and the degradation of society that accompanied the industrial revolution cannot justly be blamed upon free competition since factory sites, the use of steam or water power, and the production of raw materials are all subject to monopoly, to say nothing of the monopoly element in investment securities and in credit control. Because of these monopolies workers are not free to compete with one another for all possible openings, but only for such as are offered by those who are already in possession.

But the primary monopoly, embodied in our land laws, is not the only kind. Our tax system is made up of exactions which interfere at every turn with the free action of competition. Every effort that men make to satisfy each other's wants is weighted with oppressive taxes, and participation in the world's markets is made progressively more difficult by tariffs, embargoes and prohibitions, the object of which is to restrict competition for the benefit of favored individuals or groups, or to serve political ends. If students of social questions are so often misled by appearances, it is not to be wondered at that the overworked masses have followed suit, and can see no way out but by countering monopoly with monopoly. By their unions, which discriminate against outsiders, make all sorts of arbitrary rules and limitations, and demand the exclusion of foreigners from the country, the workers are responsible for monopolies which still further check the free play of competition.

The economists who based their philosophy on freedom conceived a world in which arbitrary restrictions would be swept away. When the equal right of all men to use the earth is guaranteed by a just government, they argued, then the greatest possible co-operation will result from non-interference. Human wants are so various, and the means of satisfying them by the exchange of goods and services so complicated, that any attempt to regulate them must result in preventing exchanges that would otherwise take place. *Laissez-faire laissez-passer* does not mean the exploitation of women and children by employers in factories but the right of everyone to determine his own interest in a free world. The human race can adapt itself best to its environment by making full use of the division of labor in order to achieve the greatest possible production; and in the division of the wealth produced it can escape from conflict and suicide only by substituting voluntary exchange for the old system of compulsion. Free competition is after all but a synonym for the fullest co-operation; it is an ideal which cannot be reached without surrendering the exclusive privileges that are a denial of universal brotherhood; and once put to the test, it promises the greatest happiness compatible with the natural limitations of humanity.

FRANK W. GARRISON.

COMPLETENESS.

Do we mark the man within the man—
  Not, mind you, his birth or breed—
The inside soul of the man Divine
  The whole of his hidden creed?

Do we see the seed within the shell,
  The germ of the fruit to be,
The living thing which the hard husk hides
  Till the harvest sets it free?

Do we hear the hidden voice of the man,
  In the office, the shop and the street?
'Tis the call of the man from the all of the man
  In its yearning to be complete,

When all the severed and scattered parts
  Which we call separate men
Are linked in th' conscious unity
  That brings them peace again.

Or do we dissect the Body of Christ
  And label each part a man,
While the quivering soul of the sundered whole
  Of God's great, perfect plan,

Incarnate in the Living Lord,
  Cries out from far and near,
From market and slum and prison cell:
  "I am here and here and here!

I am everywhere, I am all in all,
  No sect with its segment soul,
No planet, no man, no nation on earth
  Is safe till My Body is whole."

Churchman. —*Richard W. Hogue.*

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

DIARY OF A QUAKER WORKER AMONG THE FIFTEEN MILLION OF RUSSIA'S STARVING PEOPLE.

Philadelphia, Pa., February 1st.—"We were pulled into Buzuluk in the small hours of the morning one week ago, our car hitched to the tail of a freight, and we are still here in our house boat on rails. Our last move was only a yard or so to get into the lea of a warehouse; and we had frozen so fast to the rails in even those few hours that a locomotive couldn't move us and it had to back off and give us a kick. Even then we coasted, as the wheels didn't move at all." This is the beginning of a letter from Beulah A. Hurley, of New Hope, Pa., now in Russia as a member of the Quaker Relief Unit, which was received today at the headquarters of the Quakers in Philadelphia. Miss Hurley reached the famine area of the Volga, where 15,000,000 Russians are starving, in the middle of December and is taking charge of the distribution of the Quaker relief in one of the sections of the Buzuluk district.

"This business of cooking, living, receiving callers, running an office, and housekeeping for a Unit of thirteen in a square box-car wherein five also sleep, is close work, and we have learned much. The kick from the engine upset the soup, but it hit nothing but one seat and the side of a fur hat; but presently the tea-water was also upset and it washed the soup off the fur hat and so we are all tidy again.

"On Sunday Miriam West and I moved out in the night and slept up in rooms in the town which the Mission has taken for its headquarters. For two nights we slept in real honest-to-goodness beds. How is that for a record of the last three weeks? Take warning all ye who come in to Russia and bring along all the bed and bedding you hope to use. Also bring some magic powder to lay a little ring all round your camp on the floor and say an incantation over it before you retire, or else you may find that you are a 'host in yourself.'

"The reason we moved from the box-car for those two nights was that the Doctor found that Nancy Babb, who lived on the first bottom shelf of our tiny closet, had more than the flu. It is typhus and as there is no hospital in Buzuluk we planned to hitch this car to a west-bound train and have her in Samara the next day. Therefore our sudden move in the night with the baggage of all ten of us and the foodstuffs for Buzuluk and the household equipment for the five units about to open. Once at the house we had to open the foods and pack a supply of them to send up with Nancy Babb and a nurse to support themselves at the hospital.

"No train came the next morning either way as everything was snowed up; so the day was spent in finding a room for an isolation ward in the rooms meant for a few people and which were housing a mob of us. It was impossible to secure other rooms in the village for the town of 18,000 now houses 35,000 and some parts of it are ruined since the Denikin campaign went across this district. The upstairs room where the six men of the Unit live had to be evacuated and their belongings taken to the dining room. We hated to do it in their absence; but we rolled up their bedding and effects and planted them at intervals around the dining room. By nightfall Nancy was installed in the room and some of the men moved back into the car, as the floor of the dining room was all taken up by the table where we ate in shifts of ten.

"The rest of the week has gone to moving us back and collecting the stuff to go with us to our two Units in the East and also to the making ready for the supplies and personnel to accompany the two Units to the West. They moved out on Wednesday night and we expected our eighteen food trucks from Samara to come in the next day. Thursday night sixteen of them arrived, having taken seven days for the eight-hour run. Norowsky went out at once by the Tashkent-Moscow express to get two of the cars which had broken down and he just came in now with them; so the men will lead the work with clothing and chocolate in the morning and we hope to pull out by night.

"By contrast with home we lead a life that in comparison with Spartan life is rigorous, but it is a luxury to the type of life which we see all about us. Scarcely a day goes by but one may see at least a dead body lying along the way or in the marketplace; and three days ago a father and mother and two children dropped in the snow together. At night one can hear the cries and pleading of the crowds at the station entrances trying to seek a bit of warmth; but no one may go into that crowded mass except those really waiting for trains, and so every morning the human bodies which have frozen to death must be carried away from the entrances. Even from among those who have been all night in the station, heated only by human warmth, bodies are taken of those who have died of starvation or cold. The cemetery itself is a ghastly place where bodies are piled up in trenches like so much cord-wood and the naked bones of the bodies makes the simile all the truer. The pile is now visible a quarter mile away. The clothing is always stripped from the bodies, for it is too precious to be lost.

But worse even than the dead bodies left sometimes for days frozen in the snow, are the walking skeletons who totter about from house to house hoping to find enough to live on for another day. The children show bare skin as they trot on weeping with the cold. There are not crowds of these, but just a few here and there looking almost like stragglers from an army; and we wonder which of them may be stark dead at the roadside before night.

"Doris White is still at the first outpost which she and Murray Kenworthy opened forty miles south of the railroad, and her letter which reached us from Moscow told of the necessity of starting feeding at once. Horses are dying so fast that they cannot carry the food in the wagons fast enough, and so they are trying to use camels, which eat less. But these camels are starving and their humps are usually flabby and empty of the reserve strength which they normally carry there. Doris White begged to have more help sent but added, 'Send someone with no heart, for it is a cruel task.' She reported that cannibalism has begun in the outlying districts and that an old woman and a child of nine have followed the cats and dogs which have already been consumed.

"It is colder here than Moscow, most of this week being about 30 degrees below zero. But it is dry and bracing. Do not be alarmed for us personally as we are getting along in a good manner. We brought our own supply of flour and bake our own bread rather than take any of the bread of this country, as it means a saving in the supply here and also in the readjustment of our digestions to this local stuff. We know that nourishing food is not self-indulgence but absolute necessity in the considering of ourselves as machines which can only give the maximum of service by being kept in condition. The task of equipping the interpreters with clothing which is warm enough has been a task, but the possibility of drawing upon the relief clothing has helped a bit.

"It did not take us long to adopt the custom of this country and sleep with doors and windows shut and a fire going. A mile between house and warehouse seems most inconvenient at times; but it has the advantage of forcing some exercise in the open. The six short hours of sunlight are of brilliant beauty, the plains stretching away like the sea to the south and then to the north there is a line of lovely hills, foothills of the Urals. The wide generous streets of the city itself are fascinating and it must

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"So it goes, and the tragedy deepens with the cold. It is a gallant work you are doing in the home country; for with the unemployment in America and all of those attendant ills we can understand that life is rather full of calls for help. We wish you all God-speed with the task. May the new year bring fuller capacity for sympathy and strength for service."

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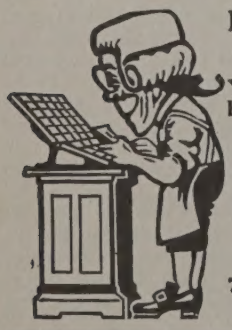

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